/203 cont./

291 Fig. 11) for the Surará and Pakidai (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923,
301 Pl. 45). As adornment the girls sometimes wear cords on their
237 arms and legs or bands across their chests. White and multi-
colored feathers are frequently tied to these cords or bands by the
531 women as much as by the men. The women paint various
382 geometric figures on their bodies, and we observed a typical de-
[386] sign in zigzag form which the women wore on their cheeks. The pigment was red (made from onoto) or blue, made from a fruit which the Sanemá call taarimóg, with which the women paint one another's cheeks. The design is the same as the one which they on occasion paint on the stones which surround the camp and which was identified with the path of the sun and of the moon. They say that the sun is happy /204/ to see these designs. A very similar design which we saw on the face of a woman was interpreted for us as "path of the moon." We were not able to verify with any certainty whether some relationship between menstruation and this design exists for them.

721 Before entering upon belligerent relations with an enemy,
302 the warriors paint their bodies with onoto. They believe that
[789] this practice assures good aim and protects them from the arrows
[624] of the enemy. As we have mentioned before, in time of war the Sanemá take orders from a war chief who is different from the one who is in command in time of peace.

727 A warrior who kills an enemy returns very slowly to his
774 home, because the "dead person weighs heavily on his chest."
They believe that the hĩkula of the dead person is inside the
chest of the victor. In there he tries to persuade the man to
● [785] "eat a lot." But the warrior resists this and fasts for several weeks, for otherwise the hĩkula of the dead person would kill him too. After this time has passed the hĩkula of the enemy goes out to his
725 fate. It would seem that the most effective war tactic is to surprise the enemy at dawn when he is asleep. We did not see Sanemá rancherías fortified with palisades, as we did in other Yanoama subtribes.

224 The Sanemá, like the Yanoama in general, are excellent hunters, and many traits of their culture indicate a deep tradition in this lore.

262 /207 cont./
223 it answers that it is an enemy is he to kill it. In the majority of
825 cases it turns out to be an enemy, and the hunter kills it with a double aim: to have meat and to cause an enemy to disappear. The hunter carries the eagle home, and his wife prepares it for
[514] food. Those who eat the meat must not defecate on the ground,
[785] but only in the water. The hunter himself must not eat any of this meat and fasts for two months. The eagle "weighs heavily" on his chest, and only when it has "gone upwards" does the hunter get better and begin to feel well again. From now on those who have eaten of the meat may live without taking the above-mentioned precautions (22).

22. See the section which deals with "war"
/see p. 57 /.

825 It might be said that for every Sanemá rancheria there exists a rancheria of eagles and of hanekasá. This belief has characteristics of the idea of the alter ego, and the Sanemá apply kinship terms to these animals when they speak to them. The same occurs with regard to jaguars and other animals which they mentioned to us vaguely.

226 Fishing plays a very secondary role in the Sanemá economy.
[433] They fish with barbasco, with bow and arrow, but we have not seen special arrows for this purpose. In recent times they have adopted fishhooks, which they now use quite frequently.

222 /208/ Of secondary importance, coming after hunting, is the gathering of various kinds of small animals, insects, wild fruit,
[527] and also honey and eggs. The shoots of palms represent an important part of the diet, but above all the fruit of the pijiguao palm (Guilielma sp.), the harvest of which, during the first three months of the year, marks the time of festivities and other social
[114] activities. We were not able to gather much information from the Sanemá regarding this matter, but Barker (1953, pp. 447-48), Zerries (1955b), and Becher (1960) refer to this festive occasion in greater detail, according to their observation of it among the Waica, Pakidai, and Surara (cf. Vinci, 1959, pp. 111-118).

SHAMANS The nature of the relationship between man and spirit is largely one of hostility. The shamans, by and large, spend most of their time casting charms on enemies and enjoining their own personal demons to prevent harm from befalling the local people. Magic and curing are intimately bound up in shamanism, the practitioner devoting his efforts alternatively to causing and curing sickness.

The demons that the shamans contact are *bekura*, very tiny humanoid beings that dwell on rocks and mountains. Particularly successful shamans can control these demons to such an extent that the *bekura* will come and live inside the chest of the shaman. Each shaman solicits the aid of numerous *bekura* and attempts to lure them into his body.

Men who want to become shamans (*shabori*) go through a simple rite of fasting and chastity. They sit before their houses, use only a few trails, eat very little, and spend most of their time in a contemplative stupor brought about by hunger and drugs. After several days of this, the initiate has entered the world of the *shabori*, and can practice his skill. Each village has as many *shabori* as there are men who wish to enter this status: probably half of the men in each village are shamans.

Rerebawä told me that he was going to become a *shabori*, as he enjoyed taking the drugs and making contact with the spirit world. He decided to do this because his wife is still nursing their youngest child so that he cannot have sexual relationships with her anyway; the obligatory chastity associated with becoming a shaman will not be as difficult now as it would be when his wife weans the child. No *bekura* will dwell in the chest of a novice *shabori* who continues to have sexual relationships. After the practitioner has captured the *bekura* and they become acquainted with him, they will stay in his chest after he resumes his sexual activities.

Contact with the *bekura* is achieved by taking drugs. Particularly adept *shabori* can contact their *bekura* with only a pinch of drug, which they inhale directly from their fingers. Most of them, however, take a large dose of the drug by means of the hollow blowing tube. The *shabori* then prances back and forth in front of his house and chants to the demons he attempts to control, enjoining them to descend on enemies and cause them sickness (see Fig. 2-9). If he is curing someone, he chants before the house of the patient, rubs him, massages him, and draws the evil spirit causing the sickness to some extremity, such as an arm or leg. Then he sucks or pulls the spirit out and carries it away from the sick person, either vomiting it out or throwing it away, depending on how he extracted it originally. The Yąnomamö do not employ medicines made from plants or animals. Consequently, they rely exclusively on the cures that the *shabori* effect, fighting supernatural ills with supernatural medicine.

One of the surprises of my field experience was that I had to spend a great deal of time curing the sick, and my medicines were always in demand. The sick people, however, always took their illnesses to the *shabori* after I had treated them—one cannot be too careful.

CONCLUSION In summary, the Yąnomamö have effected an adaptation to their three environments. This is not to say that other means and techniques could not do the job equally well; but the peculiar combination of technology, social organization, and cosmology found among the Yąnomamö distinguishes them as a group from all other tribes. Although their technology is primitive, it permits them to exploit their jungle habitat sufficiently well to provide them with the wherewithal of physical comfort. The nature of their economy—slash-and-burn agriculture—coupled with the fact that they